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The Southern Frontier

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We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

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The Way of the South

By Howard W. Odum

In the drama of this way of the South in the Nation there is no way of hiding the fact that the supreme task for region and Nation in their search for a better regional balance of America is that of a better adjustment of race relations and opportunities with all of the implied obligations of both races and all regions. There is no way of overlooking the fact that the South's attitudes and behavior on most levels are wrong, judged from any general, abstract principle of democracy or Americanism. If it be offered in defense that New England or the people of any other region would in all probability have behaved exactly the same as the South, it still remains that New England or any other region would have been equally wrong. If it be said that there is no record of any other peoples being successful in a compound bi-racial civilization and that race prejudice is as old as civilization and that all the other regions of the United States discriminate against the Negro in high places and in low, that still has nothing to do with the obligation of the South and the Nation to work jointly toward the amelioration of conditions. If it be said that the other regions of the Nation should study and plan for the improvement of their own situations and unfair practices, the answer would be that they are doing just that, which adds to the South's obligation to do its part.

Two-Way Task

On the other hand, since the job is one for all the Nation as well as for the South, it must be apparent that the Nation's part is also a two-way task. If, as is clear, the Nation is assuming increasing responsibility in its attitude and action toward the southern part of the problem, there are two sides to this. It is not only that the Nation's conscience is troubled over the vast injustices in the South and the verdict is that the Nation must do something about it. It is also that there is the equal responsibility for the Nation to understand the total situation, to participate in its working out on the levels of American democratic government, and to plan with the South in terms of attainable reality. The Nation must surely know the nature of the problem and understand how the way of the South is the way of Nature with all her powerful conditioning forces; the way of the frontier and the folk with their loyalties and patriotism for causes for which they, both white and Negro, are willing to die; the way of religion and race, more powerful than all abstract moralities; and the way of culture and of America and of history through which the way of the South has been interwoven in the total fabric of the Nation and of the Nation in the fabric of the South.

America's Choice

There is another way in which the Nation's part is a two-way approach. If it is said that the Nation cannot face the world of nations and their search for global democracy unless it can forthwith reshape its own democratic procedures, it must be said also that America cannot lead the nations of the world toward abiding peace and fellowship through organization if it cannot prevent violent revolution and civil war within its own races and regions. The fact that there are wrongs to be righted is no license to right them through fighting and war again, especially since these wrongs are of the same sort, only less complicated and often less extensive as the wrongs and tragedies of the rest of the world. Some of the movements, attitudes, and activities, both North and South, within these threatening shadows over America, have come close to treason in time of war; they can bring on new war when peace has come. America can adopt the procedures of planning and interregional and interracial organization and cooperation and be ready to join with the world in international organization and cooperation for peace. Or America can join the conflicting nations and races in perpetual warfare and violence and lose its place in the leadership of the world of international organization for peace. This problem is no more a one-way obligation in the United States, with its opportunity for interregional and interracial balance, than are the obligations of nations and races and folk in tragedy and travail the world over.

Shadows Over America

That's how important the problem is. That's how near America comes to crisis. That's why the shadows over America grow. That's why the supreme task, for the way of the South and for the way of the Nation is found in the problem of the regional quality and balance of America. That's why there is no other way to achieve the desired and attainable standards other than through complete cooperative state, regional, and national planning under the auspices of governmental and voluntaristic programs, adopted and enacted through the consent of the people and through new reaches in the effectiveness of education. The Nation has had no greater responsibility than this. The South has had no greater opportunity.

Christians and Race Relations

I. White Christians

Lillian Smith, author and co-editor of *South Today*, has written a pamphlet entitled "The White Christian and His Conscience" (available from *South Today*, Clayton, Georgia, 10c). Miss Smith maintains that "ever since the first white Christian enslaved the first black man, the conscience of America has been hurting." A conscience is a heavy thing and has created profound conflicts in our cultures, personalities, and children, "seeping through every level of our life like a slow-spreading poison."

As a result of this conflict the white Christian has been talking back, giving a name to his trouble ("the Negro problem"). "For decades we have talked and talked and still no one has ever discovered what the problem is and no one has ever 'solved' it."

Miss Smith suggests things to do when white Christians, human beings, have learned some hard lessons. "We must learn above all the First lesson that all the earth needs to know: that Christianity, democracy and sanity, all three, center in love and brotherhood, in a sharing of a common humanity, in making room on this earth for all to live on it in human dignity and with self-esteem; in making room

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To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

EDITORIAL

Secretary of State James F. Byrnes put himself on the "spot" when he warned Bulgaria that the United States would not be satisfied with the planned election for that country's new government. The diplomatic note drew caustic comment from many quarters, including Washington columnist Lowell Mellett and Dr. Frank Kingdon, who in effect asked Mr. Byrnes "What about South Carolina, too?"

The Secretary told the Bulgars that "The will of the majority of the people can be determined only if all the people are able to vote free from force or intimidation."

Columnist Mellett, pointing out that the note to Bulgaria was also designed for sober reading in Moscow, wrote:

"If this doesn't baffle the Bulgars it surely will confuse some South Carolinians, where such 'democratic elements' as the poor whites and the Negroes have never been allowed to participate enough to meet the Secretary of State's prescription."

Dr. Kingdon, noted educator and clergyman, raised the same question when he substituted for Walter Winchell on the latter's regular Sunday night broadcast recently.

Of course, the contradiction implied in the note would not have been so sharp if Mr. Byrnes were not a southerner; nor would we imply that Mr. Byrnes is personally responsible for exclusion of "democratic elements" from the polls in his home state. But the contradiction remains, an official statement of this nation, and it does point up a valid question: How far can the United States go in demanding "democratic processes" in other countries when so many citizens, white as well as Negro, are deterred from voting by such devices as the poll tax and the white primary?

It is summed up satirically by Dr. Horace Mann Bond, president of Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Ga., in a bit of verse published in the Atlanta Constitution's letters-to-the-editor column. We quote the last stanza:

Back where you came from, Mr. Byrnes, in towns like Blaney, Bamberg,
In Bennettsville; in Boykin; Bath, Burgess, Bordeaux, Blacksburg;
There's hardly one Bulgarian, but a heap of colored folk.
Shall "Free Ballots for the Bulgars!" to the Negro be a joke?

'Cooperative Progress' Holds Promise for Solving Southern Problems

BY ROSAMONDE R. WIMBERLY

Graham Sumner of Yale defined society as "a group of groups" and Charles Ellwood of Duke described society as composed of a group of persons who "carry on some phase of common life." Both definitions apply to the social situation prevailing in the Southern states. Truly, Southern society is made up of a "group of groups," the latter being agricultural, industrial, rural, urban, managerial, labor, and, of particular significance, Negro and white. Yet, as Sumner implied, beneath these various group differences one finds a larger group, a society basic and fundamental to the well-being of each individual and each collective unit, no matter how unique and deviant the respective cultural patterns appear. In spite of differences the members of this society share a community of interests, phases of "a common life" referred to by Ellwood. They are linked more closely together than is ordinarily realized. They will progress together or suffer retrogression or stagnation separately but simultaneously.

As we look toward the post-war era some of us visualize a far-sighted policy of practical education in race relations, emphasizing shared needs, common purposes and goals, joint planning and social action directed toward social improvement in Southern society. Emphasis upon interracial relations is shifting to emphasis upon Southern relations. As our two races and, in fact, as all our groups face realistically our common problems and plan to raise our general level of culture we learn to appreciate the fine personal qualities and the integrity of each other, to note collective and individual contributions to our social order, to develop mutual respect for one another's ideas and to become more considerate of the other person's hopes and aspirations. This will ultimately result in a philosophy that Southern society should provide opportunities and facilities for the complete development of every human personality and each one of the "group of groups."

One of the chief reasons we are enthusiastic about the Southern Regional Council is that it stresses our community of interests; health, education, agriculture, industry, commerce, politics, et cetera, and seeks to coordinate the efforts of both races and all groups as interacting members of Southern society, concerned with the improvement of the region as their ultimate goal. Through the progress of the South a better life will become attainable for an ever increasing number of our citizens regardless of class, color, creed, or race. "United we stand, divided we fall" epitomizes two potential relations of our Southern groups with their respective consequences.

'Make Mine the Human Race'

Roark Bradford speaks out in *Collier's* on "Make Mine the Human Race." Believing that we should not expect a millenium overnight, Mr. Bradford vouchsafes that "We can, with honesty to ourselves and our neighbors, work toward a day when the only race will be the human race, and when we judge a fellow man by his character and not by the color of his skin. The will to do this must come from the heart of mankind, from his brain and, if necessary, from his brawn. When that day comes, brother, the crusaders can lay down their typewriters and their swords and pick up their harps and halos." (And they'll be happy in so doing, we believe. — *Editors*)

'Revolution Down South'

The Governor of Georgia, Ellis Arnall, writes in *Collier's* on "Revolution Down South." Governor Arnall tells the world that "the new South is waking up and is going to work in a world of reality to achieve her proper destiny. . . . Much of the bad government that we've had in the South can be traced to bigotry and intolerance, in office and out. . . . The ten million Negro citizens of the South are not a separate, special problem any more than they are a special and separate resource. They are part of the South, and their economic welfare is a part of the section's economic welfare. They are entitled to decent housing, decent clothing, good schools, economic opportunity and justice."

Here and There in the South

Alabama. The Governor was forced to send the militia into Eufaula to quell racial unrest which arose out of the sentencing to death of Peter Paul, a Negro youth of 18, for the alleged rape and killing of a 17-year-old white girl in early July. According to the investigation of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, Negroes are leaving Eufaula in relatively large numbers.

The report continues, "The trial was railroaded through, the jury coming to a decision in ten minutes' time. . . .

"These are the facts: (1) Negroes must be off the streets by 9 P. M. There is a curfew. (2) Night workers are afraid to report to their jobs. (3) An organized and armed mob is ready to terrorize Negroes at the drop of a hat. (4) An 18-year-old youth is scheduled to die on August 17 without benefit of counsel, who has been tried in a court where no Negroes were admitted."

A lawyer has been secured to appeal the case and seek an ameliorating justice.

Arkansas. The United States Court of Appeals directed the Little Rock School District to equalize the pay scales of white and Negro teachers, reversing a decision of the eastern district court of Arkansas which denied an injunction sought by several Negro teachers in that city.

Florida. The chairman of Tampa's city election board stated that, in the charter revision held on July 31, "Negro citizens, who are otherwise qualified" might register and vote. "This election is a general city election and no distinctions can be made as to race and color," Negro citizens, however, could not register as members of the White Municipal Party.

Georgia. On August 7, Georgia adopted a new constitution. In an effort to overcome the objections raised by the Supreme Court in Smith v. Allwright to the exclusion of Negroes from primaries, all references to primaries were eliminated. The poll tax was abolished by the General Assembly in March, 1945. The new constitution also eliminated its "grandfather clause."

Mississippi. Professor Dorothy Dickins, of the Department of Home Economics, Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station, Mississippi State College, reports some interesting effects of a white corn meal shortage in the state. White corn meal is a basic food in the South. When it became scarce or hard to obtain, children in Negro families found it more difficult to secure than did those in white families. However, an interesting reaction was secured to the question, "If you had no cornbread, are there any foods you would not eat at all?" The study revealed that the food more frequently eaten in smaller quantities by the majority of both white and Negro children during the white corn meal shortage was — green vegetables.

North Carolina. The *Goldsboro News Argus* has been carrying photographs and stories of its staff-members. One such story concerned a Negro employee, S. J. Cooke, a pressman, who has been with that paper for 23 years.

Tennessee. The American Missionary Association's second annual Institute of Race Relations was held at Fisk University, Nashville, July 2-20. The Institute was attended by 140 persons, 90 of whom were full-time members. Sixty lecturers and consultants led the group in an analysis of segregation and discrimination, based on prejudice, as they affect solutions pointing toward a peaceful family of nations.

Though the Institute did not have as representative a membership of Southerners and employers as it desired, it received the best and most sustained newspaper coverage ever given a race relations meeting in the South. Credit for this reporting goes to *The Nashville Tennessean* and *The Nashville Banner.*

Texas. Lubbock, once known as the "cleanest city in Texas," has discovered its Negro slum areas. In "Coleman Alley" one faucet and two toilets serve the entire alley, housing some fifty persons. There is a day nursery for Negro children, approximately 20 feet square, which houses some 40 children in the winter. Many of the "homes" in this section are constructed from old refrigerator cars and carpenter's shacks.

The Lubbock *Journal* called to the attention of the city authorities the fact that they now have all the advance information necessary for laying plans to clear up this slum in the older part of Lubbock's Negro section. Editorially, the *Journal* said "This is not a problem, or a condition peculiar to the Negroes who are forced into unsatisfactory quarters, or to the owners of the property involved. It is a problem in which all of Lubbock has a stake."

Virginia. J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia State Teachers Association, used the recent report of the Virginia Education Commission to show that 29 counties in that state during the 1943-1944 school year actually expended less for instruction in the Negro schools of Virginia than they received from the State of Virginia for that purpose.

Richmond, according to Dolores Phalen writing in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* Jully 22, has need

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Chapel Hill Students Polled on Race Relations

The YWCA Race Relations Committee of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, conducted a Racial Attitude poll of students during the school year just ended. The results of this poll were described as "most interesting" by *Y and Wherefore,* the YWCA mimeographed publication. A summary of the findings follows:

QUESTION	Yes Per Cent	No Per Cent
I. Do you agree that the Negro is born with the same capacity to learn as are whites?	78.3	21.7
II. Should we attend the same churches?	44.4	55.6
III. Would you accept Negroes living in		
Same dormitory as yourself?	21.2	78.6
Separate dormitories	66.9	32.6
Separate dormitories but eating with whites?	29.0	71.0
IV. Would you be willing to accept Negro students in the University		
As Freshmen?	43.9	56.1
As Juniors?	46.2	53.8
As Graduate students?	63.2	36.8
V. Would you mind sitting beside a Negro in class?	41.2	57.4
VI. Would you allow Negroes in campus organizations and professional fraternities?	52.6	46.4

Price Heads Alabama Interracial Group

The Alabama Interracial Committee, at its fourth annual meeting held in Birmingham on June 20, 1945, extended a vote of appreciation to the Rev. William H. Marmion, retiring president, "for his excellent leadership and untiring efforts to promote the growth of better relations between the races." Mr. D. R. Price of Birmingham became the new chairman. The Committee took the following actions:

(1) Endorsed the legislation known as the Fair Employment Practice Bill and resolved to urge "our senators and congressmen to work for the passage by Congress of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Bill";

(2) Endorsed Alabama House Bill 245 which provides for the construction and operation of public hospitals with the added suggestion that the "advisory council to approve policies relating to hospitals be interracial";

(3) Endorsed a program which called for full recognition of the intent of the various types of veterans' legislation to apply to all veterans regardless of race, color, or creed;

(4) Finally, it was resolved that the Committee respectfully petition the Governor of Alabama "to use his good offices to reopen" the Recy Taylor Case of Henry County, Alabama, "in the interest of justice, fair play, better race relations, the lessening of outside intervention, and of democracy."

Here and There

(*Continued from page* 3)

for a community hospital, a single great medical center that would meet the needs of a growing community and stress the broader trends in contemporary medicine. The Richmond Community Council studied the hospital needs of the community and proposed the establishment of a new and modern hospital of at least 500 beds.

"The pressing needs of the Negroes for medical care could be met," writes Miss Phalen, "if 100 of the 500 beds in the proposed hospital were allotted to a separate building adjoining the institution. This unit, complete in itself, could admit patients of qualified Negro physicians. Here the Negro physician could have the same opportunities, within the limits of his professional competence, as are enjoyed by the staff of the rest of the hospital.

"The development of such a unit contemplates the closing of the present community hospital and taking over the beds now available for Negro patients in Retreat for the Sick. This will assure a quality of care to patients of Negro physicians that cannot be obtained at the Richmond County Hospital as it exists today." The Richmond County Hospital is the only institution in the city in which Negro physicians treat their own patients.

Christians and Race Relations

(*Continued from page* 1)

in our own hearts for understanding, and love, and simple decency."

II. Negro Christians

Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College, Atlanta, and Vice-President of the Federal Council of Churches, writes in *The Journal of Religious Thought* (Autumn-Winter, 1945) on "Obligations of Negro Christians in Relation to An Interracial Program."

Dr. Mays maintains that Negro Christians have the following obligations in any interracial program, whether it involves Gentiles, Jews, or Orientals:

1. To be honest and tell the truth, since genuine progress in race relations is possible only when all parties concerned are honest;
2. To be less self-righteous: not to conclude that Negroes are necessarily virtuous because they are suppressed and that other groups are depraved or lacking in virtue because they occupy the vantage point;
3. To make a sane and critical appraisal of liberal white people. "Here the Negro needs to be exceptionally discriminating. It too often happens that a member of another race who is barely two steps ahead of his contemporaries in his conception of racial justice is hailed as an outstanding liberal and a great friend of the Negro. . . . Such a person should be commended for his little courage and definitely appreciated; but he must not be led to believe that he has made the grade when he has barely gotten his feet wet in the area of practicing and living high religion."

Dr. Mays believes that there are at least three dangers involved in a hasty appraisal and utilization of a person "because he said something in public that sounded right or put something in print that made good reading": Negroes may "frighten the man who is just beginning to be a liberal"; "he may be fooled by our acclaim and come to believe that he is further along than he is"; and, that when Negroes may discover that "they have overrated him and that he is not what we took him to be, there is danger of our losing faith and confidence in white people."

III. Christians in Action

The Seminar on Christian Social Relations held at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, in late July made the following pronouncements:

Realizing the great necessity for the promotion of plans that will bind our nation together into one united whole, and realizing that when one group of citizens is singled out for discrimination and attack the whole peace and unity of the nation is theatened, and that when it comes from the halls of Congress it has both a direct and an indirect bearing upon the peace of the world:

We, the Methodist women from the nine Southeastern States in the seminar on Christian Social Relations, in session this day, July 30, Lake Junaluska, N. C., make the following pronouncements —

1. As Christian women of the South, we deplore the filibuster of the Southern Senator Theodore G. Bilbo against the appropriation for the Fair Employment Practice Committee in his attempt to thwart the onward march of democracy, and we furthermore condemn such use of Senate hours as a tragic waste of tax-payers' money.
2. We are very much humiliated that a Senator of our South could so forget himself as to be so crude, so un-Christian, and so ungentlemanly as to address anyone with the offensive epithet of "dago."
3. We deplore and condemn the violent and abusive attack made by Senator James O. Eastland upon American Negroes in our armed forces, who with other youth of our land are giving their lives for the sake of all of us. We particularly deplore that such a speech was made by a Senator of our South.
4. We want the outside world to know such practices and tactics do not have the sanction of the Christian South.

We make these pronouncements in the name of Him who came that we "might be one," and that life, more abundant life, might be for all.

The Wagner - Murray - Dingell bill for social security will be a big issue during the next session of Congress. The Southern Regional Council has copies of a digest of the bill, outlining simply and clearly what it is and what it would do. If you want copies of this digest write to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., 62 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.